

# ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

VOL. I.

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CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE  
GOVERNORS OF OHIO AND VIR-  
GINIA.

Gov. Bartley to Gov. McDowell.  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE, O.  
Columbus, Oct. 11, 1845.

SIR:—Permit me to call your attention to a  
requisition, presented to your Excellency  
some two weeks since, for the arrest and de-  
livery to the authorities of Ohio, of Francis  
Lewis, Wyatt Lewis, James Coe, Nimrod  
Coe, and Calvin Rockinbaugh, who were in-  
dicted in the county of Washington, and State  
of O., for the crime of kidnapping three white  
citizens, within the jurisdiction of this State,  
and forcing them into the State of Virginia.  
This act has produced a deep and intense  
feeling among the people of Ohio. We are  
extremely anxious to preserve peace and har-  
mony between the States, and we confidently  
believe that peace and harmony cannot be  
preserved, unless the authorities of each State  
will promptly execute the international laws;  
and thus check any act of violence which the  
citizens of one State may perpetrate on those  
of the other.

After a patient hearing of all the testimony  
adduced, the Grand Jury of Washington  
county found these five men above named,  
guilty of the crime charged.

They have fled from this State, and are

now in the hands of your Excellency, in that national right which the Constitution  
of the United States, and acts of Congress,  
guarantee to each State and Territory within  
the Confederacy; and as it is by this interna-  
tional law, that the union of the States has  
been, and must still be, preserved, we can-  
not believe your Excellency will refuse Ohio  
the right to punish the perpetrators of crime,  
committed within her jurisdiction. Should  
these five men be arrested, and delivered to  
the authorities of Ohio, their rights will be  
properly regarded. They will have a speedy,  
fair, and public trial by an impartial jury;  
and we trust that the citizens of Ohio, who  
are now imprisoned in Wood county, Vir-  
ginia, will enjoy the same rights. This course  
will preclude a recurrence of difficulty be-  
tween the citizens on each side of the river,  
and preserve peace and harmony between the  
States.

Will your Excellency at your earliest con-  
venience, apprise me of the Executive action  
on the papers referred to.

And be assured I am, Sir, with great respect

Your Excellency's Ob't Serv't.

M. BARTLEY.

His Excellency, James McDowell,  
Governor of Virginia.

Gov. McDowell to Gov. Bartley.  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
Richmond Va., Oct. 21 1845.

SIR:—I received on yesterday your letter  
of the 13th inst., in relation to the requisition  
which you have recently made on the  
Executive authority of this State for the ar-  
rest and surrender of certain persons who are  
therein demanded as fugitives from the jus-  
tice of yours, and I answer it, when re-  
ceiving it, of advising your Excellency of the  
present decision of this Department upon the  
requisition itself. Casual circumstances, to-  
gether with some delay in ascertaining mat-  
terial facts not in possession of this Department  
until lately, have prevented me from forming  
and from making this known as early a day  
as I could have wished.

I have now, however, to inform your Ex-  
cellency that all of the persons named in your  
requisition—to wit, Francis Lewis, Wyatt  
Lewis, James Coe, Nimrod Coe and Calvin  
Rockinbaugh, are at this time under legal  
process, compelling their attendance as wit-  
nesses in a prosecution which is pending be-  
fore one of our courts against the very persons  
whom they are, severally; charged in the re-  
quisition with having kidnapped, and are in  
consequence thereof reserved from surrender  
by a provision of a law of this State (a copy  
of which is herewith sent) until they are ful-  
ly discharged from the process by which they  
are held.

Whilst I need not say to your Excellency  
that the obligation on my part, as Executive,  
to maintain the requirements of our own law  
in this respect is complete and imperative, I  
cannot but hope that you will concur with  
me in opinion upon the reasonableness and ne-  
cessity of the law itself. It is not peculiar to  
Virginia, but is to be found in substance  
amongst the laws of several of the other States

and in all cases rests upon the same sound  
and rational principle, that whenever any one  
is under the claim of law for the purposes of  
justice, it is wrong to surrender him to any  
after claim for a similar purpose until the first  
shall have been satisfied and disposed of.—  
Take the very case which is before us at pre-  
sent, and a more striking illustration of the  
truth of the principle or of the value of the  
law which is founded upon it could scarcely  
be offered. Were I to deliver up to your Ex-  
cellency the persons whom you have deman-  
ded whilst the trial for an alleged aggression  
upon the property and rights of citizens of  
this State, in which those persons are the  
principal if not the sole witnesses, is still  
pending and undetermined,—were I to do  
this, the investigations and authority of the  
Court would be stopped—the whole evidence  
in the case would be taken away, and taken  
away forever if the persons surrendered should  
be convicted of felony—the parties implicated  
acquitted without trial, and thus the pur-  
pose of justice effectually defeated through an  
Executive agency which was meant to protect  
them. Indeed, the surrender, under existing  
circumstances, would be, in effect, to endow  
your Excellency with the double privilege of  
subjecting certain citizens of Virginia to an  
ignominious prosecution in Ohio and discharg-  
ing at the same time certain others of Ohio  
from a similar prosecution here. Such un-  
doubtedly would be the result of complying,  
at present, with your Excellency's demand.  
Still, however, I am perfectly confident that  
in making it, and making it now, your Ex-  
cellency has acted with no design whatsoever  
of thwarting the course and operation of  
our laws, but with the single and honorable  
one of maintaining inviolate the claims of  
your own.

Acting then in this same spirit of official  
fidelity, and in conformity with the provision  
of law before alluded to, I shall decline giv-  
ing any order at present for the arrest and  
delivery over of the persons who are named  
in your Excellency's requisition. Whenever  
they are discharged from the process be-  
fore stated, and when the judgment of the  
Court, in all its bearing upon the persons and  
principles involved, shall be made known to  
this Department, it will then have the whole  
case in its hands, and will be able to proceed  
at once to a final decision upon it.

Having thus answered your Excellency's  
requisition, I have now to submit one from  
this Department upon yours, demanding the  
surrender of Jos. Romaine, Titus Shotwell,  
and Berton Stanton, who were indicted at  
the September term of the Circuit Superior  
Court of Law and Chancery for the county  
of Wood, in this State, begun and held on  
the first day of the month, upon a charge of  
feloniously enticing and alluring away, and  
otherwise aiding in the removal and abscond-  
ing from the service and possession of their  
owner, certain slaves the property of a citi-  
zen of this State.

This requisition, as your Excellency will  
perceive, is founded upon an indictment which  
is prior even to that on which your own has  
been made, and is otherwise in all constitu-  
tional and legal respects precisely the same.  
I cannot doubt, therefore, but that its valid-  
ity will be promptly acknowledged, & if no legal  
obstacle exists, that the necessary meas-  
ures will be as promptly taken to give it ef-  
fect. Could I at any moment have doubted  
this, and have supposed that your Excellency  
would be unwilling to admit as obligator-  
y upon your own Executive action, the coun-  
terpart of the very official instrument which  
you have presented as obligatory upon mine,  
that doubt would have been removed in the  
most ample manner by the very explicit and  
emphatic positions of your letter. Nothing,  
indeed, could be stronger upon this point than  
the emphasis with which your Excellency  
declares it to be your confident belief, that  
the peace and harmony of the several States  
cannot be maintained except through the faith-  
ful execution of all international laws by the  
authorities of each; and that the Union itself  
depends for its preservation upon the steady  
enforcement of that federal guarantee which  
secures to every State, as a part of its sov-  
ereignty, the delivery over to its laws of every  
criminal against them.

This is the doctrine of Virginia—the doc-  
trine, as we believe of patriotism and of the  
Constitution; and having often maintained it  
ourselves in the face of opposition, and deni-  
al, and rebuff, we cannot be otherwise than  
pleased at having so powerful an auxiliary as  
Ohio to assist us in maintaining it for the fu-  
ture.

Gratified as I am at the position on this  
subject, which you have taken for your young  
and powerful Commonwealth, and especially  
at having the benefit of it in advance on the  
side of the demand which I have herewith  
the honor to forward, I am scarcely less so in  
believing that your own gratification will be  
fully equal to mine at having so early an op-  
portunity of stamping the doctrines of your  
letter with the seal of a practical and official  
confirmation.

In relation to the citizens of Ohio who are  
now under trial in the county of Wood, and  
whose situation is specially referred to in  
your letter, I trust that your Excellency will  
feel entirely assured that the fair and honor-  
able trial which you invoke for them will cer-  
tainly be had.

Without extending this communication  
any farther, I will add only, that whilst I a-  
gree with your Excellency in believing that  
much may be done by a faithful use of Ex-  
ecutive authority to restrain the commission  
of offences between citizens of different States,  
I am yet satisfied that our solid and effectual  
reliance for this end is in the private mor-  
ality of those citizens themselves and in the

prevalence amongst them of a true spirit of  
justice and respect for the rights of each oth-  
er. With such a spirit we have a security  
for public peace, immeasurably stronger than  
everything which law, with all its bonds, im-  
prisonments and fines can afford. Let such a  
spirit as this be extended to the constitu-  
tional and legal rights of the people of Vir-  
ginia in their slaves—let every attempt at the  
allurement or removal of these slaves from  
the possession of their owners be given up,  
as both illegal and immoral, by those who  
disclaim them as property—let this be done,  
and your Excellency needs no assurance from  
me that the kindly relations between Ohio  
and Virginia are more likely than ever to re-  
main undisturbed and perpetual.

With very great respect, I am your Ex-  
cellency's most obedient servant,

JAM. McDOWELL.

To His Excellency, M. BARTLEY,  
Governor of Ohio

(Gov. Bartley to Gov. McDowell.)

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, OHIO,  
Columbus, Nov. 3d, 1845.

SIR:—I had the honor to receive a few days  
since, your Excellency's communication of  
the 21st ult., in reply to my letter of the 13th  
ult. Six weeks previous to the receipt of  
this communication, a requisition from this  
office in due form, was presented to your Ex-  
cellency, for the arrest and delivery to the  
authorities of Ohio, of Francis Lewis, Wy-  
att Lewis, James Coe, Nimrod Coe and  
Calvin Rockinbaugh, against whom indict-  
ments were returned, in the county of Wash-  
ington, and state of Ohio, for the atrocious  
crime of kidnapping three citizens of Ohio.  
Your communication contains the first intima-  
tion furnished, as to any action on the part  
of your excellency, on the subject of the re-  
quisition from this office. As the crime on  
which the demand for the arrest was predi-  
cated, is one of no ordinary magnitude, and  
as the execution of criminal justice always  
requires promptness, you will allow me to  
express to you my regret, that circumstances  
should have arisen, to occasion so much delay  
in your action.

I learn with no small degree of surprise,  
the determination which you have made on  
the subject of the requisition. You have as it  
appears, deferred your final decision, until  
some future period, and declined, at the pre-  
sent, issuing a warrant for the arrest. You  
say in your communication, after speaking of  
the delay in your action, "I have now to submit  
one from this Department upon yours, demand-  
ing the surrender of Jos. Romaine, Titus Shotwell,  
and Berton Stanton, who were indicted at  
the September term of the Circuit Superior  
Court of Law and Chancery for the county  
of Wood, in this State, begun and held on  
the first day of the month, upon a charge of  
feloniously enticing and alluring away, and  
otherwise aiding in the removal and abscond-  
ing from the service and possession of their  
owner, certain slaves the property of a citi-  
zen of this State."

Your statement leaves ground for the in-  
ference, that after it had become known, in  
Virginia, that a requisition had been pre-  
sented to you, and during the delay which oc-  
curred, between the time of making the de-  
mand upon you, and the date of your letter,  
the legal process spoken of had been served  
on the persons whose arrest was required.—  
If the persons had been under legal process  
at the time the demand for the arrest had been  
made, it is to be presumed the fact would  
have been so stated. Permit me further to  
say to your Excellency, that the reasons as-  
signed for your declining to issue the warrant  
for the arrest, at present, and deferring your  
final decision on the application; until a fu-  
ture period, are, to my mind, very unsatis-  
factory. Why defer your final decision upon  
the merits of the application, and deter-  
mine to take the matter up for consideration,  
only after the persons whose arrest is deman-  
ded, shall have been discharged from legal  
process as witnesses? What bearing the  
judgment of a criminal court in Virginia, can  
have on the prosecution of other persons, upon  
a different charge, in enabling you to form a  
more correct decision upon the pending re-  
quisition, is wholly beyond my comprehension;  
and the delay incident to this course, would  
afford an opportunity to the persons whose  
arrest is sought to make their escape; an event,  
I doubt not, which your Excellency would  
much regret.

But the provisions of the law of Virginia,  
which you furnish, and give as the ground on  
which you base your refusal to issue a war-  
rant, are not applicable to the case. By the  
provision of that law, the exemption from ar-  
rest, upon the requisition of the Executive of  
another State, is confined to "persons under  
prosecution for treason, felony or other crime,  
alleged to have been committed in Virginia,  
and to persons in custody upon any execution  
or upon any writ or process." You do not  
claim that the persons whose arrest I have  
demanded, are "in custody" upon any pro-  
cess. To be in custody, the person of an in-  
dividual must be in the keeping, and under  
confinement by an officer entrusted with some  
legal process, authorizing the imprisonment.

According to no rational or legitimate con-  
struction of a law, can a person under a mere  
summons or subpoena, to appear in a case as  
a witness, be regarded as "in custody."—  
This law, therefore, does not appear to me  
to be applicable to the case, inasmuch as,  
from your own statement, these persons are  
only under a mere process of a subpoena, as  
a witness, and not "in custody," upon any  
process, or under any criminal prosecution,  
in Virginia.

The requisition which I have made upon  
you, for the arrest of the persons named, was  
made in strict conformity to the provisions of  
a law of Congress, of the 13th February, 1793,  
but under the authority of the second clause  
of the second section of the 4th article of the  
Constitution of the United States, which is  
in the words following, to wit: "a person

charged, in any State, with treason, felony,  
or other crime, who shall flee from justice,  
and be found in another state, shall, on de-  
mand of the Executive authority of the state  
from which he fled, be delivered up, to be  
removed to the state having jurisdiction of  
the crime."

This provision of the constitution is impera-  
tive. "On demand," the fugitive from jus-  
tice shall be given up. The Constitution is  
subject to no qualification or condition, and is  
paramount to any mere act, passed by the Le-  
gislator of any one of the states.

It appears evident to me, that good faith  
towards the national compact, requires the  
faithful observance of, and strict obedience  
to, the high injunctions of the United States.  
If the Legislature of one of the States has the  
power to pass a law, annexing conditions or  
qualifications to an imperative provision of  
the Constitution of the United States; or if  
the chief executive magistrate, from consid-  
erations of local expediency, has the power to  
evade a compliance with the imperative in-  
junctions of that constitution, then, that sacred  
chart of our national liberty will be a mere  
rope of sand, and cease longer to be any pro-  
tection to the respective rights of the States  
of the Union.

The law of Congress, of the 13th February,  
1793, points out the mode of making the de-  
mand for the surrender of fugitives from jus-  
tice. Under this law, it is provided, that,  
whenever the executive authority of a State  
in the Union, shall demand any person as a  
fugitive from justice, and produce a copy of  
an indictment, or an affidavit, made before a  
magistrate, preferring the charge, &c., "it  
shall be the duty of the executive authority of  
the State to which such person shall have  
fled, to cause him or her to be arrested and  
delivered over, &c."

Neither the Constitution of the United  
States, nor this law of Congress, will admit  
of the construction, that the surrender of a  
fugitive from justice, is to be subject to the  
condition, that the surrender is not to be  
made, in case the fugitive is under the mere  
process of a subpoena, to appear in a case as  
a witness in court.

The paramount objects of our national union,  
and the preservation of the friendly relations,  
the peace and harmony of the several states,  
are certainly not to yield, or be made second-  
ary to a mere suit, pending in a local court.  
If such a construction should be given to this  
provision of the Constitution, it would ren-  
der it almost a nullity; and, whenever an of-  
fender should learn, that a requisition was  
about to be made for his surrender and punish-  
ment, for a criminal depredation, perpetrated  
upon the person and property of an adjacent  
State, all he would have to do, would be to  
get some of his friends or accomplices, to  
serve upon him a process to appear, as a wit-  
ness, in some proceeding pending in a local  
court, and thus defeat the purpose of justice.

In the case now under consideration, in  
carrying out the provisions of the interna-  
tional law, and thereby preserving the friendly  
relations between the States, there is no oc-  
casion, as I apprehend, to interfere with the  
proceedings, which you mention, in the crimi-  
nal court of Virginia. The persons whose  
arrest and surrender is demanded, can, by  
means of giving bail for their appearance, to  
answer to the criminal charge in Ohio, be  
used as witnesses in the court of Virginia,  
and the fact of their testimony being neces-  
sary, for the purposes of justice, (if such be the  
case,) in a criminal court of Virginia, would  
be just cause for continuing the trial in Ohio,  
until the proceedings in Virginia be disposed  
of. A friendly and amicable disposition on  
the part of the authorities of each state, would  
certainly enable us to subserve in the most  
ample manner, all the purposes of justice,  
without doing violence to the provisions of  
our international law.

During the period at which the difficulties  
alluded to, have existed, between some of the  
citizens of Ohio, and some of those of Vir-  
ginia, the public authorities in Ohio, have  
taken special care, and that too with success,  
to maintain an amicable and correct course on  
the part of the citizens of Ohio. Our citizens  
have been assured that they would find am-  
ple justice in the judicial tribunals of Vir-  
ginia, and speedily redress of their wrongs. The  
act perpetrated by the citizens of Virginia,  
whose arrest and surrender is demanded, was  
a high-handed outrage, calculated to lead to  
great popular excitement. It appears from  
the testimony received at this office, that the  
design of the negroes to leave their masters  
and cross the Ohio river at the very time they  
did, was known in the neighborhood where  
the slaves resided for several days previous,  
and this information was communicated to  
the citizens on the Ohio shore by Virginians  
for the purpose of exciting their curiosity;  
else, why did they not arrest the slaves on  
the Virginia shore? Thus excited by the ci-  
tizens of Virginia, several on the Ohio side  
collected on the bank of the river, and, as the  
slaves ascended the bank, some ten or twelve  
of the citizens of Virginia, being concealed,  
(having previously crossed the river,) ran  
from their ambush, armed with muskets  
and sabres, ordered the slaves immediately to  
the boat, then, having fired at, captured, and  
forced from the jurisdiction of their own State,  
three citizens of Ohio, into the State of Vir-  
ginia, where they are now illegally im-  
prisoned.

To redress the wrong done by this outrage  
to the rights of our citizens, and to the sov-  
ereignty of the State, resort has thus far been  
had alone to the peaceful remedies of judicial  
proceedings. But if your Excellency is not  
disposed to lend your aid, and the exercise  
of your authority, to redress these wrongs by  
the course of legal proceedings; if the injuno-

tions of the national compact are to be made  
secondary to strained constructions of mere  
State enactments, and matters of local expe-  
diency; if a diabolical outrage of this kind is  
to be perpetrated by citizens of Virginia upon  
the persons of citizens of Ohio, and the per-  
petrators escape with impunity, under the  
protection of the authorities of Virginia; be as-  
sured sir, the friendly feelings and intercourse  
between the two States will be greatly endan-  
gered, and it is feared the people of Ohio will  
take justice in their own hands, and redress  
their own wrongs, without a recourse to the  
authorities of Virginia. I do not say this by  
way of threat, nor without due reflection.

I believe your Excellency to be acting from  
good motives; but sir, it is not human nature  
for any people to submit tamely, and see their  
people kidnapped, and imprisoned in a fore-  
ign jurisdiction. I tell you, sir, plainly,  
with proper respect, and with due delibera-  
tion, that Ohio will not submit to such wrongs.

Let me ask you then, sir, in the exercise  
of your high functions, and with a disposition  
which I doubt not you possess, to preserve  
the peace and happiness of the people of the  
whole Union, to reconsider the determination  
which you have made on this subject.

You inform me by your communication that  
Joseph Romaine, Titus Shotwell, and Berton  
Stanton, have been indicted in Wood county,  
Virginia, upon a charge of "enticing and al-  
luring away slaves from their master in Vir-  
ginia," and in your letter, you demand their  
surrender.

No requisition in a legal form, as yet has  
been presented at this office, accompanied  
with a copy of indictment. I cannot presume  
that, in a matter of so much importance, your  
Excellency expects me to dispense with the  
usual legal and Constitutional requirements,  
in the surrender of citizens of Ohio.

Should a requisition come, in a proper and  
legal form, accompanied by the necessary pa-  
pers, I will assure you, sir, it shall receive  
all proper attention; with due regard to the  
injunctions of the Federal Constitution.

In conclusion, permit me to say, that the  
authorities of Ohio have thus far been faithful  
to the performance of their duties relative to  
fugitive slaves. I am not aware that any pal-  
liation exists, unless in mere imagination, for  
the outrage perpetrated by the citizens of Vir-  
ginia within the jurisdiction of Ohio. How  
beneficial your salutary admonitions on the  
subject of the morality and virtue of the ci-  
zens of the two states may be, is yet left to  
conjecture; but I will assure you, sir, that no  
where in the Union, the "Old Dominion"  
not excepted, are the citizens more moral and  
peaceable than those of Ohio. Still, I trust  
sir, the admonitions will not be entirely use-  
less. I am yet firmly of opinion that the ad-  
ministration of the criminal law ought not to  
be relaxed, unless it be intended to let the  
people avenge their own wrongs, by a resort  
to violence.

With great respect, I am, sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
M. BARTLEY.

His Excellency, James McDowell, Governor  
of Virginia.

## RELIGION AND SLAVERY.

We have before us 'A condensed Anti-Sla-  
very Bible Argument by a citizen of Virginia,'  
a pamphlet of 90 pages, New York, 1845.  
We are ever pained when we see or hear  
Religion and Slavery mentioned in con-  
nexion. Here we confess we lose all that  
charity which we can at all times feel to-  
wards the greatest criminals and the worst of  
crimes. We imagine that no one looks upon  
the lion and the snake with the same feel-  
ings; although death may be threatened  
by both. Go to the field of battle, and  
see the brains scattered from the crush-  
ed skull, or the great gush of the heart's  
blood! and the great work of God has been  
marred! This sight is horrid enough. But  
go to the gloomy chamber of the victim of  
secret poison! See the wasted form—the  
anguished eye—the dread of friend and foe  
—the horrible war of the necessary craving  
for food—and the instinctive keen sense of  
fatal poison—now when all that God has in-  
tended for support in the trying hour are  
turned into the bitterest curse—look there,  
misery and madness struggling for suprema-  
cy—and cold, certain death, the sole arbit-  
er and giver of rest! Tell us now, the untought  
impulse of the heart of man, is not this  
worse than death in the battle field? Go see  
the "cat o' nine" buried in the flesh of the  
unprotected slave—see his ashy shrivelled  
form—his rags—his foul and comfortless hut  
—tear him from his home—blot out from his  
eye the loved images of his wife, children  
and friends—and who are the men who do  
this thing? Every citizen who by his vote  
allows the vilest wretch to do the deed with  
impunity! But the citizen was born to it—  
love of wealth, pleasure and pride have us-  
urped the place of unthought conscience;  
many palliatives come to his help—and if  
conscience awakes, heaven help us—there is  
a great and merciful and omnipotent God,  
who can purify the most deep stained soul,  
and upon repentance make the tortured spirit  
happy once more!

But when and how shall we see a man  
who knocks down under our feet the  
weary feet of the slave—scaffolding of hope, and  
makes God himself the worst of tyrants—the  
falsest of friends—the most unjust of fancied  
existences! The man who attempts to jus-  
tify slavery from the Bible is that man! If he  
wins us to his opinions, he makes us an in-  
del—we lose our belief in the existence of a  
God—our idea of the immortality of the soul  
—all distinction between right and wrong—  
we sink from the man into the beast—we



would not scruple to murder our mother for a meal of victuals—or to scatter the desecrated remains of a dead sister, or father, or wife, to manure our cucumber vines! We thank God that instinct is stronger than reasoning, and conscience more powerful than argument. We do most sincerely believe, and we deliberately weigh what we say, that all the books and papers which have been written to prove slavery a divine institution, have never convinced a single man or woman that it was right—not one! We have not read the argument above referred to—life is too short for a man to read a discourse to prove that a man may not murder his father, or sell his country for gold, or enslave his fellow man! If then we will not and cannot read the argument of our able friend, 'A Virginian,' in defence of the right, what shall we say of the God defying defender of the wrong? We promised to give the 'Alabama Preacher' and his class a round, when we got *cool*; we now postpone it forever; for until this miserable and dying being of ours becomes yet most deserving of all the ills that flesh is heir to, we never can associate in our mind Religion and Slavery without the most unqualified loathing and hot indignation!—C. M. Clay's *True American*.

## COMMUNICATIONS.

FRIENDS EDITORS:—

In the Bugle of the 19th inst., is an article written by my friend B. B. Davis, which seems to demand some reply from me; and which I hasten to notice, believing that a candid interchange of views relative to the subject of his communication, cannot but be beneficial to all parties concerned.

In the communication to Salem Monthly Meeting, published in your paper of the 12th inst., and to which my friend B. B. Davis seems to have some objections, it is stated that "the Society of Friends professes to be a Christian body—that it professes to keep itself such, by dealing with those of its members who are guilty of immoral or unchristian conduct."—In regard to this matter I suppose there can be no difference of opinion among those who know anything directly of the professions of the Society, whatever conclusions may be drawn by those who judge of these professions by its practices merely.

In the Discipline of the Society of Friends of Ohio, as revised and printed by direction of the Yearly Meeting in 1842, it is declared that the great head of the church has been pleased to gather Friends as a people to himself, and to inspire them with a degree of the same universal love and good will by which was ushered in the dispensation of the Gospel. Declarations of the same nature abound throughout the discipline, and so far as that instrument is to be received as an exposition of the principles professed by the Society, (and I know not where else we are to look for such exposition) the Society makes the very highest pretensions to Christianity.—Furthermore, if any member acts in a manner unworthy of this profession, it is declared to be "the indispensable duty" of the Society to treat with him without delay, and if he fails to give evidence of repentance, to disown him. But it is useless to multiply words here. No one who has read the discipline of the Society or other writings approved by Friends, or listened to the testimony of their recommended ministers, can be in doubt for a moment relative to this matter.

My friend B. B. D. calls himself a member of Society. He stands committed in favor of these principles and regulations before Friends, and the world. In his own heart he either does, or does not adopt them. He either does or does not believe it right for the Society to make these high professions and its "indispensable duty" to carry them out, by disowning delinquent members and in other particulars. If he believes it the duty of the church to act upon these principles and if the church refuses to act thus, it must according to his own argument be his "indispensable duty" to disown the church; as every argument used in the discipline, or which can be used to justify the Society for the disownment of delinquent members will go as far, and I believe farther to justify individuals who are true to principle, in disowning a delinquent church.

If on the other hand he rejects these principles of the Society, as being incorrect, he appears to the world what he is not—deceives the Society, and stands condemned by the discipline; which declares that there is imposition "on the part of those who (as is sometimes the case) insist on being retained as members while at variance with Friends either in principle or practice!" There seems, then, no course for my friend to pursue, but to join himself to what he pleasantly terms the "new Comeouter Society," unless he is prepared to take the position and maintain it, that the Society of Friends does act in a manner worthy of its high Christian professions. This position he will not attempt to establish, for two reasons. The one is that he is well acquainted with the position occupied by the Society for several years past, towards questions of reform. The other is that he is an honest man.

My friend is well aware that most of the meeting houses belonging to Friends have been closed against Anti-Slavery and Temperance meetings—that thousands of its members support slavery, by voting for slaveholders, upholding a pro-slavery Government and in other particulars—that many, perhaps a majority of the recommended ministers of the Society, as well as many of its other members are using their whole influence against the Anti-Slavery movement, and yet retain their standing in the Church; and that members have from time to time been disowned, wholly on account of their consistent Anti-Slavery character and action. Could such things be, if the Society carried out in practice its Christian professions? Can that be justly considered a Christian Society, which while it professes to recommend none to the ministry, except such as are divinely appointed, and speak by immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, yet retains in the ministry persons who are active and bitter in their opposition to the cause of the slave, and declares in its Quarterly and Yearly meetings, that it believes such are "careful in the exercise of their gifts to wait for divine ability?"

Can the body which hurls from its connection such persons as I. T. Hopper and his associates, wholly on account of their efforts in behalf of bleeding humanity, be justly looked upon as occupying the high moral and religious station claimed by the Society of Friends? But one answer can be given by any friend of truth to these questions.

I know it is sometimes asserted that Friends of Ohio and other places, have nothing to do with the action of Friends in New York.—This is a mistake. I. T. Hopper was disowned not merely by Rose street Monthly Meeting, nor by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings of that place which sanctioned its proceedings, but by the Society of Friends; not one meeting in unity and correspondence with New York, having ever, so far as I am informed, breathed a whisper in disapproval of this high-handed outrage.

Such then, is the position occupied by the Society from which I have thought it my duty to disconnect myself, and to which friend B. B. D. still adheres. Though I believe that after a careful examination of the subject he will agree with me that he cannot sustain his present relation to this body, without in some measure at least, sanctioning its pro-slavery character—without being, so far as this connection is concerned, the "supporter of slavery—the enemy of the Slave."

B. B. Davis is of opinion that my principles, if carried out, would require that I should come out from the Anti-Slavery and Temperance Societies as well as that of Friends.—If he succeeds in establishing this view of the subject, it will, it seems to me, have little to do with the matter in question, as it is not at all likely the discovery that I am already involved in guilt, owing to my connection with two Societies, many of whose members are corrupt, would induce me to connect myself with a third, of the same, or a worse character, and thus add to my guilt.—Principle, it seems to me, would require that I should leave the former, rather than join the latter.

But I do not admit nor believe, that the arguments used to show the duty of disclaiming the Society of Friends will apply to the same extent, or to any extent, to the members of the Anti-slavery & Temperance Societies, for the reason that these associations are in several essential particulars different from that Society. Every person who subscribes to the Constitution of the A. A. S. Society is a member of that association.—Individuals of all classes, and of every character and condition, meet together on its platform to labor for the overthrow of slavery. That Society has no power nor does it claim the right, or hold it a duty, to disown any member under any circumstances. All, who wish to do so, meet upon that platform—compare views with each other—unite, so far as they can agree, in the carrying out of measures for the promotion of the Anti-Slavery cause, and where differences of opinion arise, or a course of conduct is pursued by some which others disapprove, neither party is responsible for the doings of the other, any more than one individual is chargeable with the wrong done by another, from the fact that both live in the same village or neighborhood. The same may be said of the Temperance organizations. Every one can see at a glance the wide distinction existing between associations of this character, and the Society of Friends and most other religious bodies, which are disciplinary, and profess to shut out from their connection all who do not sustain a Christian character.

It is evident therefore that what my friend says about members of A. A. S. Societies using the products of slave labor, voting for slaveholders, &c., though it may have an effect to induce these members to examine the ground whereon they stand, cannot by any means be made to prove it the duty of any to come out of these Societies, whose members as before

shown are not responsible for the actions of each other.

I will now very briefly answer, so far as I am able, the several interrogatories at the conclusion of B. B. D's communication.

The first question I answer in the affirmative. To the 2nd I answer, we should use the best means which are strictly moral—3rd there are. 4th. To the first part of this inquiry I reply that I have been a member of an association in which it is in order to agitate all questions, no matter of what character. This association is, however, small. It was established a few months ago in Salem. To the latter part of the query I answer, that I have endeavored to exert an influence upon the members of the Society of Friends, though I have not taken part in the discussions of its meetings.

5th, This depends upon the character of the organization. If it is disciplinary, and adopts as one of its cardinal principles, that it is the "indispensable duty" of the body to disown those of its members who do not act "in a manner becoming their profession," it is the duty of those who are true to principle to disown those who are not, no matter which is the stronger party. If on the other hand the association is similar to the O. A. A. S. Society, then those who are true are not implicated in the guilt of those who are false. 6th, It would not. 7th, No. 8th, This I cannot answer; I think probably it would not continue for any great length of time. 9th, Some members of that Society abstain from the proceeds of slave labor to a great extent. A majority I presume do not; some members who use these proceeds consider themselves inconsistent in doing so, others do not. 10th This I cannot answer. 11th, It is not. 12th, It does. In proof of this I refer my friend to the action of the Society in New York, towards I. T. Hopper and others; and to the action of Indiana Yearly meeting towards the Friends of Green Plain.

J. BARNABY, JR.

### RESPECTED FRIENDS:

In looking over the Bugle a few days ago, I was very forcibly struck with an article from the pen of John B. Wolf, taken, I think, from the "Western Christian Advocate," and it occurred to me just now, that a word in relation to some things contained in it, might not be out of place; and I also wish, to call attention to some further developments of his real character, that from them, the people may see, what this class of persons (the Priests) are, and what they are doing; but, I would observe here, that from all I can learn of the man, I conclude that he is a tool in the hands of Eliza Bates; comes at his call, and barks at his bidding—and I will further add, that no other than a Priest, or the willing tool of a Priest, could be guilty of placing before the public an article so notoriously false, and slanderous, in its character, as the one alluded to. In the first place he professes to have a perfect knowledge of the motives, which impel our friends to pursue the course they are taking, and tells us that it is the establishment of the principles of Infidelity. Merely calling the reader's attention to this, is sufficient all will see the Priestly assumption at a glance. He says "he asked some questions when at the Convention at this place," but he says nothing of the manner of doing it or, of the professions he made to the audience. Those questions were asked out of pure regard for the cause in which we were engaged (so he said) "and much depends on the answer you give to them. It is for the benefit of the audience, of the speakers, and of the cause, that I ask them, there is a great deal behind them" &c. And yet, he denied in the same meeting the correctness of the foundation principle of the Anti-Slavery enterprise; that is, that it is wrong under all circumstances to hold Slaves; hence, he must be viewed as an advocate of Slavery; an advocate of man holding his fellow man as property. This also, only requires to have the attention directed to it in order to exhibit the baseness and hypocrisy of the man. But I must not dwell longer on this, I wish as I said in the commencement, to call attention to other developments of the real character of this Priest, John B. Wolf.

On the evening of the 14th of last month, a meeting was held some three or four miles west of Mt. Pleasant, to examine the propriety of holding temperance meetings on the Sabbath day. At an early hour, the house was well filled, and among the number present was John B. Wolf. The ordinary formalities of organizing were over when I arrived. But I very shortly discovered that some thing more was to be done. Arrangements were being made to select speakers. This last, was evidently the work of friend Wolf, as after movements clearly proved. I took occasion to suggest that any person present wishing to speak on the question under consideration be left at liberty to do so. At this friend W. arose and said he would oppose any movement of the kind, the audience had come there to hear men of influence and

intelligence speak, and must not be disappointed. "The proposition" he said, "involved the discussion of another question, that of the natural rights of man, altogether extraneous to the one we came to discuss." There was something more said, not now recollected, he, however, took upon himself the entire control of the meeting. Eight persons were named who might, if they wished, have privilege of speaking, but all others were prohibited. One who dared to think only as his Priest dictated, asserted in his remarks, that the real question lay back of the one proposed here for discussion. "It is" says he "Is the Sabbath a Christian institution?" He attempted to show it to be such a one, and as none appeared to be dissatisfied with it being made the question, he demanded that we should come to it. I arose and inquired of the audience which one of the questions I should discuss, as it had been said that the one of holding temperance meetings on the Sabbath was not the one we came to examine; some one made answer—both. I then proceeded to show the necessity of doing good on all days, and from that, and the fact that the sabbath is not a Christian institution; that the introduction of the Christian dispensation abrogated the Jewish Sabbath and did not establish any other—that Christ, his Apostles, nor yet the early Christians ever observed any particular day as the Priests of the present day would have us do. It was said by another that the Church and State were the only institutions recognized in the Bible, and we had no right to form others.

In reply, it was shown that if this doctrine was adhered to, no reformation could ever be accomplished in either, for the Church would excommunicate, and the State put to death those of their members who attempt to reform them. The utterance of these facts, was more than the pious Priest could bear; (and by the way, all that was said by myself in relation to the Sabbath was proven from their own authority, the Old and New Testaments and the standard Church histories.) He imposed himself in the meeting for nearly half an hour, for the purpose of abusing myself and others; said we belonged to a Society whose object was to destroy the Marriage relation, bring about Agrarianism, that we had introduced our Community principles there by proposing that all be at liberty to speak who desired &c. He also stated that I had left the question and taken up another, the Christian Sabbath—and when asked who it was that first introduced it, replied emphatically "didn't I tell you what the question was, and what right had you to pay any attention to what they said?" thus, again, placing himself in the position of the whole meeting, or rather assuming to be the meeting.

It would occupy too much space to give all the particulars, but from those given all who are not blind must see the necessity of ceasing to sustain a lying and tyrannical Priesthood. They are always in the way of every reform that is started. The Rev. John B. Wolf could charge others whom he knew were laboring to reform the drunkard and break the chain of the Slave, with striving to destroy the marriage relation, while he himself represents a body, that has already abrogated that sacred institution in the case of one sixth of the American people. If abolitionists do not get the Priests converted to truth, and righteousness, they had as well give over striving for the relief of the Slave from his chains.

Yours for the right,  
CARVER TOLINSON.  
Mt. Pleasant, Dec. 10th, 1845.

Thanks to the friend who furnished us with a copy of the following letter: it will doubtless be read with much interest.—[Excerp-  
"New York, Asht. Co. O.,  
15th Nov. 1845.]

Dear Brother,  
You know the Free Will Baptists of this place, were set all on fire because Mr. Foster and Miss Kelley, slandered them so, in proving them to be pro-slavery.

They even went so far as to ex-communicate some of their worthy members, (who, they were sure, would leave them) for the same reason that they "gnashed their teeth" no Mr. F. & Miss K.

Might not one, reasonably expect such thorough-going Abolitionists, as these Free Will Baptists, would sit most patiently, under an Anti-Slavery lecture, though it were delivered in a house devoted to Religious Worship?

Well, last Sunday evening, I gave them an opportunity of proving, that they had been slandered, by those Anti-Slavery Lecturers and these ex-communicated church-members, and that it was not without reason they were so exasperated against them.

After listening to a sermon from Elder Yates, in which he endeavored to prove that the body as well as the soul, would go to Heaven—that the judgment day was the day for which all others was made—that the Saints would smile and triumph over the last con-

flagration, when the Earth, and with it, its wicked inhabitants should be consumed in the flames, &c., &c.—I say, after listening to a sermon which ran after this sort, I took advantage of "opportunity given for any one to speak;" but had said but few words—barely informed them that I "proposed to call their attention to another subject, their duty to God their Father and man their brother, in which they had a more immediate interest than the one to which they had been giving their attention"—when the Elder with a commanding voice, said; "Sit down!" "Sit down!" "Sit down!" "It's my meeting."

I remarked that I chose not to relinquish the opportunity given and proceeded.

Thereupon the Elder commenced singing "praises to God" in order to drown my voice and thus break me down. His pious Anti-Slavery brethren joined in with him and sang ("in the Spirit" no doubt) until they were tired of it.

Meantime, I continued speaking—spoke slow and loud so as to enable those not engaged in Religious Worship, to hear. I made use of this circumstance, the spirit manifested towards me, to convince them that these professed Christians were "of the Devil."

Well they soon became weary of "making melody unto the Lord" and so changed the order of worship. Two of their leading, most devoted brethren made towards me with firm step, (Courageous men! What Christian fortitude!!!) and with hearts all filled to overflowing with the spirit of their Master, laid violent hands on me and thrust me out into the street.

As soon as freed from their grasp I returned to the "House of God" and again commenced speaking—was dragged out the second time by the same pious Christians—the second time returned and remained unmolested.

The Elder thought it best not longer to continue the "unequal combat, and so unceremoniously left the house without singing, prayer, or the benediction.

The sisters and most of the brethren followed, leaving me to close the meeting in my own way.

You would naturally suppose such a bustle as was produced by this "drag out" would seriously alarm the female portion of the assembly, but so far from it, some of them were a good deal elated, as they eered by their indecent grins as they passed me on their way out.

They probably had seen the like before, for they believe in fighting, for what they call their "religious rights."

I will just say, in justice to some of their members, who disapprove of branding the subject of Slavery in a religious meeting, that they disapproved of the "drag out" on the ground that it would make talk and give them a bad name abroad.

One of the sisters too, wife of the leader, in the attack upon my person, "Wouldn't have had it done for Ten Dollars;" for the reason as her husband said in reply, "O you're afraid it'll hurt my business, that's all you care for it."

I did intend giving you before now an account of the manner Mr. Foster used up Elder Dunn—that "Angel" as some of his F. W. Baptist sisters call him, but I've waited so long I'll defer it till I see you, which I hope will be soon.

Yours truly,  
HENRY H. HATCH.

A. M. HATCH.

## ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

SALAM, DECEMBER, 20, 1845.

"I love agitation when there is cause for it—the alarm bell which strikes the inhabitants of a city, saves them from being burned in their beds."—Edmund Burke.

Persons having business connected with the paper, will please call on James Barnaby, corner of Main and Chesnut sts.

### MARRIED.

In New Brighton, Pa. on the 21st. inst. at the house of Milo A. Townsend, Stephen S. Foster of New Hampshire, to Abby Kelley of Massachusetts.

### TO OUR FRIENDS ON THE RESERVE.

Stephen S. and Abby Kelley Foster, after visiting a few towns in Western Pa. design holding a series of meetings on the Western Reserve. Those persons of the latter place who desire meetings in their respective neighborhoods, and can procure suitable places, and accommodations, will please send information (per mail) to the Editors of this paper. It is desirable to hear from the friends as soon as possible, so that such arrangements may be made as time will allow, and the interests of the cause seem to demand.

Carver Tolinson is hereby informed that we can supply him with the books for which he writes. We have been waiting for an opportunity to forward them, but none has offered.



## THE LAND QUESTION.

The Editor of "The Friend of Man," is not satisfied with our answer to his query in relation to the distribution of Public Lands, and thinks that we might have replied in an article but little longer than the one in which we gave our reasons for declining so to do. It is true we might have said yes or no, or yes and no, as we told him the editors differed with each other on this subject. Many questions might be asked, to which we could reply in a single line, but rather than do so, rather than connect, or seem to connect any extraneous topics with the Anti-Slavery question, we would prefer giving in an article of twenty lines, our reasons for not replying. We do not feel bound to answer every question proposed, although the proponent may think it intimately connected with the system of slavery—if we do not, that is sufficient reason why we should decline discussing it in an Anti-Slavery paper. We have heard some contend, and with much plausibility, that if we convert the slaveholders to Grahamism slavery would soon cease, but that is no reason—so long as we think otherwise why our editorial columns should be occupied with disquisitions on Dietetics.

Others contend, both opponents and approvers of the system, that the Bible is the foundation of Am. Slavery; we think otherwise, and therefore do not enter into the merits of this question. Friend Hinckman seems to think that the Land Monopoly, is the principle upon which it rests, (although, we do not see, by the way, that the mere question as to whether actual settlers should possess the Public Lands has any direct bearing on the principle of Land Monopoly) if so, we do not concur with him, and cannot pursue the same course, which he must feel his duty to pursue, for each and all must act in conformity with their perceptions of truth, of duty, of right and wrong, of cause and effect.

His remark that our excuse "comes with rather an ill-grace from a paper that has had the independence (he it said to its credit,) to speak out on so many and various occasions, against the corruptions of the American clergy and churches, and other popular institutions of the day" is inappropriate, and the compliment the sentence contains altogether misplaced; at least, we were not aware that we had spoken against the corruptions of the Am. church and clergy in other particulars than their pro-slavery position, unless perchance by way of illustration, or by way of confirming what was said in regard to slavery.

If the Land Monopoly were wrong, and the recognition of every man's equal right to the soil would abolish slavery, still this would not be the first question to discuss, but one of secondary consideration.

If the Bible doctrine of Non-Resistance be true, and the abrogation of physical violence as applied to man would destroy slavery, still this question lies back of another which must be previously discussed.

We will briefly state our reasons for adopting these positions, which may appear inconsistent to some. No man regards his horse as equally entitled with himself to a share of God's earth, at least we never heard an Anti-Land Monopolist contend for such doctrine; and in our intercourse with Non-Resistants we have never met with one who did not deem it perfectly right to use such physical force as was needed to compel submission from the animals over which he chose to exercise dominion. The slave of the South sustains the same relation to his master as the horse, and other animals to the Anti-Land Monopolist and Non-Resistant; he is "one who is in the power of his master to whom he belongs,"—"a chattel personal to all intents, purposes, and constructions whatsoever," consequently we cannot establish the slave's right to land, until his right to himself is recognized—he cannot be exempted from physical violence, until he is clothed with humanity, even though Non-Resistance should prevail. We cannot see then that the case of the slave would be reached by a discussion of either of these questions, until his humanity, and his inalienable right to liberty are established. Some of our Non-Resistant friends, and opponents of Land Monopoly, overlook these facts, and see the subject in a different light from that in which we regard it. This will account for the following resolutions which were adopted at what the editor of "The Friend of Man," calls an anti-slavery meeting.

Resolved, That we believe Slavery is not confined exclusively to the Southern portion of this Union, but that it is a part of the system of every government of the world.

Resolved, That to successfully abolish all systems of Slavery, it is necessary to abolish the present system of Government LAND MONOPOLY, for mankind can never be free while he has to ask permission of a lordly Land Aristocrat to work for bread to keep himself and family from starving.

Resolved, That universal liberty consists in the undoing of all unequal burdens—the abandonment of all tyranny and oppression, and not the mere abolishment of Southern Negro Slavery.

We feel it our duty at the present time to discuss the question of chattelism; and when we see the slave within the pale of a common brotherhood, that will be a proper time to contend for other rights which are based upon his right to himself.

## TEXAS.

The Resolutions declaring Texas to be one of the United States, were before the House of Representatives for discussion, or adoption rather, on the 16th inst. A motion to lay them on the table was negatived by a vote of 112 to 52. The previous question having been moved and carried, the question was taken on their engrossment and third reading.—Yeas 141; nays 52. The question then recurring to the passage of the resolutions, the correspondent of the Tribune says, "Mr. Rockwell of Massachusetts proceeded in a very able and eloquent speech, pointing out the objections to the resolutions. The conclusion of his speech was very fine. His vindication of Massachusetts and his tribute to John Quincy Adams were beautiful and powerful. He showed that the Constitution of Texas now before the House was in direct violation of the Joint Resolution for the Annexation of Texas.

The Annexation Resolutions provided that in a certain part of Texas, Slavery should not be permitted. The Constitution of the State of Texas guaranteed Slavery in the whole of Texas. He concluded by moving that the Constitution of Texas be re-committed to the Committee on Territories, with instructions to introduce a proviso that Slavery, except for crime, be excluded from the new State.

Here a scene of confusion which is totally undesirable followed. The majority refused to apply the rule. On the same decision they voted to sustain the Chair by 92 to 77, and immediately afterwards voted not to sustain by a vote of 93 to 93. The Yeas and Nays were called for on the final passage of the Resolutions, and resulted in, Yeas 141, Nays 56.

An attempt was made to bring them before the Senate on the 18th, but failed, as it required the unanimous consent of the members to introduce them at that time, which was not given. When they do come up, there is no question but the Senatorial vote will tell for Slavery and Texas.

Several communications have been crowded out this week, and much other matter which we desired to insert. Our sheet is not large enough for our wants.

## SIGNIFICANT.

Some of our friends in Eastern Pa. became tired of laboring in the A. S. Society—it was a heavy, up-hill kind of business, and fit only for stalwart souls in which faith and hope are strong, and so they organized a political party—a Liberty party as they called it. A much less odious name is Liberty in the ears of American Democrats, than that harsh, grating compound, anti-slavery. They proposed voting slavery down, and some in league with them were so rash as to avow that if voting did not do it, they would pull off the political shenth and present the naked bayonet. We judge however from a recent advertisement in the American Citizen under the head of "Christmas Fair," that their adopted name has not answered their expectations, so they have hunted up the old discarded title to use as a prefix, and inform the world that said Fair is for the benefit of the "Anti-Slavery Liberty Party."

## THE PRESS IN GERMANY.

To show the sort of "Liberty of the press" enjoyed in Berlin, it is stated in a recent French paper, that a celebrated advocate, a man of profound legal learning and spotless reputation, has been condemned to four months imprisonment and a fine of four hundred thalers, for the crime and misdemeanor of writing an article in a periodical work, recommending the opening of the Courts, and the public administration of justice! But there is another case which really outstrips it.—A newspaper, with a circulation of 5000, producing a large income to its proprietors, has been suppressed by the government, on the ground that its writers gave the censors too much trouble in correcting their articles!—Philadelphia Pennsylvanian.

## THE PRESS IN AMERICA.

To show the sort of "Liberty of the press" enjoyed in America, it is stated upon good authority, that a celebrated editor, a man of clear moral perception and spotless reputation, was condemned to pay a fine of one hundred dollars and suffer imprisonment in Baltimore jail until the same was paid, for the crime and misdemeanor of writing articles in a periodical work, recommending the breaking of the bondman's fetters, and the strict administration of justice! But there is another case which really outstrips it. A newspaper, with a circulation of nearly 4000, established at a heavy expense to its proprietors, was suppressed by mobocratic power, on the ground, that its writers gave the mobocrats too much uneasiness in making their practices public; and it was too much trouble for them to correct their villainous deeds.—Though government did not directly engage in this act, yet it stood by as a consenting witness!

When other facts are stated in regard to the German Press, we will furnish a parallel to each from the history of the Press in America.

## For the Anti-Slavery Bagle. OHIO LEGISLATURE.

Monday Dec. 15th.—In the SENATE, the usual variety of petitions was presented, some for the erection of new counties and some against it; one from the citizens of Richland Co. for the promotion of Agriculture; one from 236 citizens of Medina Co. for an act suppressing houses of ill fame, and more adequately to punish the crime of seduction; one from 318 citizens of Geauga Co. for a law to punish more effectually seduction and other crimes. Committee on Judiciary reported that it would be unconstitutional to pass a law rendering Ministers of the Gospel ineligible to elective civil offices, as had been asked for in the memorial of the Rev. George Dennison—the Committee was discharged from a further consideration of the subject.—Same Committee reported adversely to creating the office of Attorney General, and abolishing that of Prosecuting Attorney. Several other reports were made by that and other Standing and Select Committees.

Petitions were presented in the HOUSE, on the all engrossing subject of new counties; one for the creation of a State Board of Agriculture; one for an improvement in the Common School Laws; and one from 50 women of Ashtabula Co. asking for an amendment of the law so as to exempt the real and personal property of females, from execution on debts of their husbands, and to give to females the entire control of their property; all of which were appropriately referred.

The following preamble and resolutions were read and laid on the table.

Whereas, the practice of corporal punishment is inflicted on American citizens employed in the service of the army and navy of the United States, and in some instances, it is feared, such punishment is inflicted to gratify the malice of some officers whose displeasure they have incurred, therefore

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, that our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their endeavors to so alter the law regulating the army and navy which authorizes a practice so repugnant to humanity, civilization and republicanism.

Resolved, that the Governor be requested to forward a copy of the above preamble and resolutions, to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

The Committee on Finance made the following report.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, That it is expedient to provide by law for valuation at its true value in money, of such real property in the State, as shall not be expressly exempted therefrom, to be reported to the Governor on or before the 15th day of November next, for levying a tax upon part of the property in the State which is exempt from taxation under existing laws, and for a more effective administration of the laws now in force, for levying taxes, according to their true intent and meaning.

Mr. REEMLIN moved to amend by adding the following resolutions, remarking that he did not suppose they would be accepted:

Resolved, That it would be inexpedient and unjust, to increase in any wise, the taxes resting upon real estate.

Resolved, That those portions of the tax laws, passed at the last session of the Legislature, which tax labor, and compel our mechanics and manufacturers to give under oath, an exposure of their private affairs, should be repealed, and provisions substituted, which, by a proper selection of assessors for the different branches of commerce, will subject for all useful purposes of fair and equal taxation, the capital of our merchants and manufacturers, to the just share of the public burdens, and to the other provisions of said law be thoroughly revised, so as to make them operate with more equality.

Resolved, That the capital of banks, public and private, should be placed upon the tax duplicate in each county where they are located, and that the amount of taxes thus received into the State Treasury, should be specially set apart and applied towards the payment of the funded debt of the State.

Resolved, That an income tax should be levied upon the income of Attorneys at Law, upon Physicians and upon the Salaries of the officers of Corporations, equal, at least, to 5 per cent, upon the amount of income or salary, over and above the sum of \$200 per annum.

December 16th.—In the SENATE petitions were presented for the abolition of capital punishment for the promotion of agriculture; for the protection of the property of married women, for preserving the inviolability of burying grounds, for a repeal of the Black Laws &c., &c., which were appropriately referred. The Committee on Common Schools, to whom was referred the memorial of L. A. Hines praying a repeal of all laws on the subject of Common Schools, reported that, in the opinion of the committee, the granting of the prayer of the petitioner would be inexpedient.

The following resolution was agreed to: Resolved, That the standing committee on Common Schools and School Lands be instructed to inquire into the expediency of so amending the law for the support and better regulation of Common Schools now in force, as to prohibit Directors from employing any person as a teacher in said district, without first obtaining the consent of a majority of the householders in said district and in all cases where a teacher shall be employed, it shall be the duty of the Directors for the time being, to give notice to each householder in said district, that such person has been employed, and the time when such school will be commenced.

After the reception and reference of petitions, the House went into a Committee of the Whole for the consideration of several Bills, among which was one from the Senate for the more effectual protection of property against mob violence. The Ohio State Journal gives the following report of what transpired on that occasion.

Mr. Gallagher said, upon consideration, he thought there was no necessity for the passage of this bill. Property was protected under the common law; and damages had been recovered under it.

Mr. Drake said he thought the gentleman from Hamilton mistaken in the statement,

that damages could be recovered under the common law. In Maryland, decisions had been made, which he presumed were referred to by the gentleman; but Maryland had a statute law on the subject. Without committing himself for this bill, he must say he was in favor of some law of the kind.

Mr. Finin objected to the principle of the bill. It was making cities and towns insurers against calamities of the kind referred to. With equally as much propriety, should we make them insurers against fire and the lightning. It inflicted punishment upon the innocent, for evils which they could not prevent. It was an invitation to men to provoke popular violence. He would go as far as the farthest in strengthening the police, but he was opposed to the adoption of Laws recognizing this principle.

Mr. Irwin took opposite grounds from the gentleman last up.

This bill made all citizens of towns and cities directly interested in the preservation of order. It appealed to their interest to lend efficient aid to the authorities in suppressing disturbances and riots. Since a similar law was passed in Maryland, we have heard of no disturbances and riots in Baltimore. The effect had been most salutary.

Mr. Finin moved to amend by making towns and cities responsible for damages by fire, earthquake and whirlwind—lost.

Mr. Finin said the Legislature had no power to pass such a law. It was iniquitous legislation which caused the outbursts of popular violence, in nine cases out of ten. The riots in Cincinnati, induced by the corrupt practices of banks, had a better effect in regulating the currency, than all the legislation on that subject. The remedy for these outbreaks was to correct our corrupt legislation.

Mr. Johnson did not know but he should move to amend the bill, by excluding Cincinnati from its operation. He was also inclined to introduce a bill, to repeal all laws so far as they relate to that city. "This thing of being restrained by law was 'unconstitutional' clearly, besides being unpleasant. The gentleman thought this bill would tax the innocent. On the same principle the expense of the establishment of jails and the support of the police and criminal courts, was taxing, or as the gentleman would say, 'punishing' the innocent.

Mr. OLDS moved to amend by excepting Banks and Banking institutions from the protection of the law—lost.

Mr. MASON thought the bill sufficiently guarded. The principle upon which it was founded was that of prevention. If the bill passed he believed mobs would not be frequent in our history.

Mr. OLDS moved to amend the bill by applying its provisions to organized townships.

Mr. DRAKE said the principle involved was not that of insurance. We proceeded on the principle that the citizens of cities and towns could prevent the destruction of property by mobs. This was a new move in our legislation, and we should apply the laws to the great evil first. If it operated well we might extend it. He went still further. He would strike out that portion which made the recovery of damages depend upon the conduct of the persons aggrieved. We should not set up the mob to judge whether the conduct of individuals was proper or improper. On the same principle the populace might punish the horse thief and hang the murderer.

Mr. REEMLIN contended that the principle recognized in this bill, would require us to remunerate all sufferers from crime of every description.

[Mr. DRAKE remarked that the principle should be recognized, if the gentleman could suppose a case in which the public could prevent the crime.]

Mr. R. continued. He thought the law might have the effect of calling out citizens, when they suspected the rising of a mob, in order to prevent it, but it would be impossible to collect damages, under the loose provision of the law.

Several other members spoke on the subject.

Mr. FLINN moved to amend by excepting Cincinnati—lost.

Mr. GALLAGHER moved to amend so as to provide, that if any person be killed during riot, the Mayor and Common Council shall be hanged—lost.

On motion of Mr. MOUTON the committee rose, and the bill was referred to the committee on the Judiciary, with instructions (proposed by Mr. Reemlin) to inquire into the expediency of providing that no Court of the State shall entertain any suit against any city &c., unless it shall be proven that the owners of the property destroyed, had used all diligence in obtaining legal redress of the persons composing the mob.

December 17th.—Petitions were presented in the SENATE, asking for a law for the promotion of Agriculture, in which subject the people appear to be much interested if we may judge by the number of petitions they send to the Senate and House; included in the same petition was a request that a State Board of Agriculture be established, and the formation of County Societies encouraged.

One asking for the passage of a law to more effectually protect religious societies from disturbance was read and referred, and the usual number and varieties of petitions which we have heretofore noted were presented and referred, after which came the usual uninteresting reports from Standing and Select Committees. A motion was made and lost, that the Senate adjourn for the purpose of allowing its members to attend the Temperance Convention.

In the HOUSE, Bills of incorporation for a Chapel, and an Insurance company were passed, then followed the usual deluge of petitions to tax dogs, build new caputies, repeal the Black Laws, regulate the License system, prevent horse racing, &c. were read, and appropriately referred. A petition from Ashtabula Co. asked for the amendment of the Resurrection Laws, making exhumation a penitentiary offence. One from the Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends asked for the repeal of the Black Laws. A petition was presented, (10 ft. in length) from 500 citizens of Montgomery county, for a law empowering the legal voters of every ward and

township in the state, to prohibit the retail of ardent spirits. A memorial from the Ohio and Indiana Society of Friends asking for a repeal of the Black Laws was presented by the Speaker.

Mr. BELL moved it be not received on the ground, upon which a similar petition was refused last year, viz: that it was from other than citizens of the State.

Mr. FLINN explained, that the society from which the petition emanated, was composed of citizens of Ohio, as well as Indiana, and that these societies uniformly acted as a society, in their yearly meetings.

After some conversation, the petition was received by a vote of 19 to 20.

We find the following in the State Journal: the resolution was introduced by Mr. Gallagher.

Resolved, The employment of convicts, in the Ohio Penitentiary at various branches of mechanical labor, has seriously affected the interests of a large portion of the citizens of Ohio, engaged in mechanical pursuits, by giving to the State Government a monopoly of all the branches of mechanical industry, in which the convicts in said Penitentiary are employed, as also, tending to degrade the mechanic arts, working great wrong to the productive laborer; that portion of our citizens to whom more than to any other, our State is indebted for its past prosperity and present wealth and greatness; it being no sufficient argument in support of the Penitentiary system of labor, that it results in immediate pecuniary benefit to the State for admitting the fact, it cannot also, be denied that its effect upon the mechanics of the State is unjust and unequal, and in this, directly antagonistic to the right spirit of republicanism; in view of these facts, and with the desire and intention that the tax and burden of government shall fall alike upon all the citizens of Ohio, and that the honor and dignity of labor, may not be sullied or affected by a forced and legalized connexion with crime, therefore be it,

Resolved, That the committee on the Penitentiary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill, at as early a day as possible, abolishing the system of labor and contracting, now pursued under the rules and laws regulating the Ohio Penitentiary, having at the same time, care to violate no previous contract, nor in any way to interfere with individual rights.

Mr. GALLAGHER supported his resolution at length.

Mr. SUMMERS said he was ready to meet this question at once, by a direct vote. He could not understand the propriety or justice of the proposition of the gentleman from Hamilton. If he had a correct understanding of the matter, it amounted to this, that the convicts should be left without labor, and as a consequence, that instead of an income of \$20,000 to ease us, in a small degree, of the burdens of taxation, we shall be compelled to pay some \$50,000 more to support these convicts. Now four fifths or thereabouts, of the taxes of the State are paid by the agricultural class, and a small proportion only by the mechanics. Shall we levy this additional burden on the already burdened agriculturist? Standing here a farmer himself, and representing a large farming district, he could not consent. The gentleman from H. assumes that convict labor degrades free labor. Wise legislators in all the other States, and in this State, have taken a different view of this subject. It has always been thought proper to employ convicts at hard labor. He had never felt it dishonorable to labor, and did not believe others have felt so, for the reason that labor is still considered honorable in our State, although convicts have been engaged in that business. Would it disgrace the farmer if convicts were made to raise their own bread? The gentleman threatens us with a continual agitation of this question. He may possibly learn, that after this House has passed directly on this question, it may be prudent if not wise, to let the motion rest, till this hall is filled with wiser men than the present occupants. Very little would be gained probably, by a repetition of the subject, should it not succeed at the present time.

Mr. RINGWAY replied with much force to the remarks of the gentleman from Hamilton county. He said that he was a practical mechanic himself, and probably felt as much for their honor, as did the professional gentleman from Hamilton county, but never felt degraded because convicts worked at the same business. He took a survey of the progress made in this State to prevent injuries competitions. He showed that the mechanics did not object to convicts being employed on public work, for the erection of public buildings, and that all was done, and on progress that the mechanics had a right to expect at the present time. He adverted to the operation of the Pennsylvania law, that of solitary confinement. He pointed out the fact, that if all these branches were excluded our State would be flooded from other States; from the labor of convicts, and inferred, that it would be equally degrading to the mechanic and impolitic for the State. He alluded also to the subject of saddlery and hardware, which was very properly carried on and did not interfere with the business of others. He mentioned the manufacture of locks and door latches not made of malleable iron, how our shops were filled by such articles manufactured in the State of Connecticut. He took a survey of certain establishments in Cincinnati and the unjust competition attempted some years since by the Directors of the State Prison against that experiment at Cincinnati.

But the gentleman from Hamilton put his wish of change in the law, on the diagram that attached to the free mechanic, hence his own remarks beyond that point were not absolutely necessary, and as he had already been shown, that this gentleman's arguments go against his own position.

Mr. FERGUSON followed, taking the ground that this resolution demanded and should receive full attention. He adverted to its reference to the appropriate committee for consideration.

We learn that Cassius M. Clay designs visiting Cuba in order to recruit his health, which is much impaired.



## POETRY.

### From the Free State Rally. TO MASSACHUSETTS.

What if no beacon-blazes  
On distant hill-tops shine;  
From all thy own high places,  
Give Heaven the light of thine!  
What if, untrilled, unmoving,  
The Statesman stands apart,  
And comes no warm approving  
From Mammon's crowded mart!

Still let the land be shaken,  
By a summons of thine own;  
By all save Truth forsaken,  
Why, stand with that alone!  
Shrink not from strife unequal,  
With the best is always hope;  
And ever in the sequel,  
God holds the right side up!

But, when with thine uniting,  
Come voices long and loud,  
And far off hills are writing  
Thy fire-words on the cloud;  
When from Penobscot's fountains  
A deep response is heard,  
And across the Western mountains  
Rolls back thy rallying word;

Shall thy line of battle falter,  
With its allies just in view?  
Oh, by hearth and holy altar,  
My Father-land, be true!  
Fling abroad thy scrolls of Freedom,  
Speed them onward far and fast;  
Over hill and valley, speed them,  
Like the Sybil's on the blast!

Lo! the Empire State is shaking  
The shackles from her hand;  
With the rugged North is waking  
The level sunset land!  
On they come—the free battalions,  
East and West and North, they come,  
And the heart-beat of the millions  
Is the beat of Freedom's drum.

To the tyrant's plot no favor,  
No heed to place-fest knaves,  
Bar and bolt the door forever  
Against the land of SLAVES!  
Hear it, Mother Earth, and hear it  
The Heavens above us spread,  
The land is roused—its spirit  
Was sleeping, but not dead!

## TRUE REST.

Sweet is the pleasure,  
Itself cannot spoil!  
Is not true leisure  
One with true toil!

Thou that wouldst taste it,  
Still do thy best;  
Use it, not waste it,  
Else 'tis no rest.

Wouldst behold beauty  
Near thee! all round!  
Only hath duty  
Such a sight found.

Rest is not quitting  
The busy career;  
Rest is the entering  
Of self to its sphere.

'Tis the brook's motion,  
Clear without, strife,  
Fleeing to ocean  
After its life.

Deeper devotion  
Nowhere hath knelt  
Fuller emotion  
Heart never felt.

'Tis loving and serving  
The highest and best!  
'Tis onward! unswerving,  
And that is true rest.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### INSTINCT OF CHILDHOOD.

BY JOHN NEAL.

A beautiful child stood near a large open window. The window was completely overshadowed by wild grape and blossoming honey-suckle, and the drooping branches of prodigious elm—the largest and handsomest you ever saw. The child was leaning forward with half-open mouth and thoughtful eyes, looking into the firmament of green leaves forever at play, that appeared to overhang the whole neighborhood; and her loose bright hair, as it broke away in the cheerful morning wind, glittered like stray sunshine among the branches and blossoms.

Just underneath her feet, and almost within reach of her little hand, swung a large and prettily covered bird cage, all open to the sky! The broad plentiful grape leaves lay upon it in heaps—the morning wind blew pleasantly through it, making the very music that birds and children love best—and the delicate branches of the drooping elmswept over it—and the glow of blossoming herbage round about fell with a sort of shadowy lustre upon the basin of bright water, and the floor of glittering sand within the cage.

"Well, if ever," said the child; and then she stooped and pulled away the trailing branches and looked into the cage; and then her lips began to tremble, and her soft eyes filled with tears.

Within the cage was the mother bird, fluttering and whistling—not cheerfully, but mournfully—and beating herself to death against the delicate wires; and three little lots of birds watching her, open mouthed, and trying to follow her from perch to perch, as she opened and shut her golden wings, the sudden flashes of sunshine, and darted either and thither, as if hunted by some invisible thing—or by a cat foraging in the scrubbery.

"There, now! there you go again! you selfish thing, you! Why what is the matter?

I should be ashamed of myself! I should so! Hav'n't we bought the prettiest cage in the world for you? Hav'n't you had enough to eat, and the best that could be had for love or money—sponge cake—loaf sugar, and all sorts of seeds? Didn't father put up a nest with his own hands; and haven't I watched over you! you ungrateful little thing! till the eggs you put there had all turned to birds, no bigger than grasshoppers, and so noisy—oh, you can't think! Just look at the beautiful clear water there—and the clean white sand—where do you think you could find such water as that, or such a pretty glass dish, or such beautiful bright sand, if we were to take you at your word, and let you out, with that little nest full of young ones, to shift for themselves, hey?"

The door opened, and a tall benevolent looking man stepped up to her side. "Oh, father, I'm so glad you're come.—What do you think is the matter with poor little birdy?"

The father looked down among the grass and shrubbery, and up into the top branches, and then into the cage—the countenance of the poor girl growing more and more perplexed and more sorrowful every moment. "Well, father—what is it? does it see anything?"

"No my love, nothing to frighten her; but where is the father bird?"

"He's in the other cage. He made such a to-do when the birds began to chirper this morning, that I was obliged to let him out; and brother Bobby, he frightened him into the cage and carried him off."

"Was that right, my love?"

"But, Moggy, dear, these little birds may want their father to help to feed them; the poor mother bird may want him to take care of them, or sing to her!"

"Or, perhaps, to show them how to fly, father?"

"Yes, dear. And to separate them just now—how would you like to have me carried off, and put into another house, leaving no one at home but your mother to watch over you and the rest of my little birds?"

The child grew more thoughtful. She looked up into her father's face, and appeared as if more than half disposed to ask a question which might be little out of place; but she forbore, and after musing a few moments, went back to the original subject:

"But father, what can be the matter with the poor thing? you see how she is flying about, and the little ones trying to follow her, and tumbling upon their noses, and toddling about as if they were tipsy, and couldn't see straight."

"I am afraid she is getting discontented."

"Discontented! How can that be, father? Hasn't she her little ones about her, and every thing on earth she can wish, and then, you know, she never used to be so before."

"When her mate was with her, perhaps."

"Yes, father; and yet now I think of it, the moment these little witches began to peep-peep, and tumble about so funny, the father and mother began to fly about in the cage, as if they were crazy. What can be the reason? The water, you see, is cool and clear; the sand bright; they are out in the open air, with all the green leaves blowing about them; their cage has been scoured with soap and sand; the fountain filled; and the seed box—and—and—I declare I cannot think what ails them."

"My love, may it not be the very things you speak of? Things which you think ought to make them happy, are the very cause of all their trouble, you see. The father and mother are separated. How can they teach their young to fly in that cage! How teach them to provide for themselves?"

"But father—dear father!" laying her little hand on the spring of the cage door, "dear father! would you?"

"And why not, my dear child?" and the father's eyes filled with tears, and he stooped down and kissed the bright face upturned to his, and glowing as if illuminated with inward sunshine. "Why not?"

"I was only thinking, father, if I should let them out, who will feed them?"

"Who feeds the young ravens, dear? Who feeds the ten thousand little birds that are flying about us now?"

"True, father; but they have never been imprisoned, you know, and have already learned to take care of themselves."

The father looked up and smiled. "Worthy of profound consideration, my dear; I admit your plea; but have a care lest you overrate the danger and the difficulty, in your unwillingness to part with your beautiful little birds."

"Father!" and the little hand pressed upon the spring, and the door flew open—wide open!

"Stay my child! What you do must be done thoughtfully, conscientiously, so that you may be satisfied with yourself hereafter, and allow me to hear all your objections."

"I was thinking, father, about the cold rains, and the long winters, and how the poor little birds that have been so long confined would never be able to find a place to sleep in, or water to wash in, or seeds for their little ones."

"In our climate, my love, the winters are very short; and the rainy season itself does not drive the birds away; and then, you know birds always follow the sun; if our climate is too cold for them, they have only to go farther south. But in a word, my love, you are to do as you would be done by. As you would not like to have me separated from your mother and you; as you would not like to be imprisoned for life, though you cage were crammed with loaf sugar and sponge cake—as you—"

"That'll do father! that's enough! Brother Bobby! hither Bobby! bring the little cage with you; there's a dear!"

Brother Bobby sang out in reply; and after a moment or two of anxious inquiry, appeared at the window with a little cage. The prison doors were opened; the father bird escaped; the mother bird immediately followed, with a cry of joy; and then came back and tolled her little ones forth among the bright green leaves. The children clapped their hands in an ecstasy, and the father fell upon their necks and kissed them; and the mother,

who sat by, sobbed over them both for a whole hour, as if her heart would break; and told her neighbors with tears in her eyes.

"The ungrateful hussy! What! after all that we have done for her; giving her the best room that we could spare; feeding her from our own table; clothing her from our own wardrobe; giving her the handsomest and shrewdest fellow for a husband within twenty miles of us; allowing them to live together till a child is born; and now, because we have thought proper to send him away for a while, where he may earn his keep—now, forsooth! we are to find my lady discontented with her situation!"

"Dear father!"

"Hush, child!"

"Ay, discontented—that's the word—actually dissatisfied with her condition! the jade! with the best of every thing to make her happy—comforts and luxuries she could never dream of obtaining if she were free to-morrow—and always contented; never presuming to be discontented till now."

"And what does she complain of, father?"

"Why, my dear child, the unreasonable thing complains just because we have sent her husband away to the other plantation for a few months; he was idle here, and might have grown discontented, too, if we had not packed him off. And then, instead of being happier, and more thankful—more thankful to her heavenly Father, for the gift of a man child, Martha tells me that she found her crying over it calling it a little slave, and wished the Lord would take it away from her—the ungrateful wench! when the death of that child would be two hundred dollars out of my pocket—every cent of it!"

"After all we have done for her too!" sighed the mother.

"I declare I have no patience with the jade!" continued the father.

"Father—dear father!"

"Be quiet, Moggy! don't tease me now."

"But, father!" and, as she spoke, the child ran up to her father and drew him to the window, and threw back her sun-shiny tresses, and looked up into his eyes with the face of an angel, and pointed to the cage as it still hung at the window, with the door wide open!

The father understood her, and colored to the eyes; and then, as if half ashamed of the weakness, bent over and kissed her forehead—smoothed down her silky hair—and told her she was a child now, and must not talk about such matters till she had grown older.

"Why not, father?"

"Why not? Why bless your little heart!—Suppose I were silly enough to open my doors and turn her adrift, with her child at her breast, what would become of her? Who would take care of her? who feed her?"

"Who feeds the ravens, father? Who takes care of all the white mothers, and all the white babies we see?"

"Yes, child—but then—I know what you are thinking of; but then—there's a mighty difference, let me tell you, between a slave mother and a white mother—between a slave child and a white child."

"Yes, father."

"Don't interrupt me. You drive every thing out of my head. What was I going to say? Oh! ah! that in our long winters and cold rains, these poor things who have been brought up in our houses, and who know nothing about the anxieties of life, and have never learned to take care of themselves—and—"

"Yes, father; but couldn't they follow the sun, too? or go farther South?"

"And why not be happy here!"

"But, father—dear father! How can they teach their little ones to fly in a cage?"

"Child, you are getting troublesome!"

"And how teach their young to provide for themselves, father?"

"Put the little imp to bed, directly; do you hear?"

"Good night, father! Good night, mother! Do as you would be done by."

## BLANKETS.

To be read on a cold night in December.

BY "OLD HUMPHREY."

Help me my young friends! Help me, for the poor stand in need of comfort: let us try to do them a kindness.

How the casements rattle! and hark how the bitter, biting blast whistles among the trees! It is very cold, and will soon be colder. I could shiver at the thought of winter, when the icicles hang upon the water-but, when the snow lies deep upon the ground, and the cold, cold wind seems to freeze the heart as well as the finger ends.

Yet, after all, the darkest night, the bitterest blast, and the rudest storm confer some benefit, for they make us thankful for the roof that covers us, the fire that warms us, and for the grateful influence of a comfortable bed.

Oh the luxury of a good, thick, warm pair of blankets, when the wintry blast roars in the chimney, while the feathery flakes of snow are flying abroad, and the sharp hail patters against the window panes!

Did you ever travel a hundred miles on the outside of a coach on a sharp frosty night; your eyes stiffened, your face smarting, and your body half-petrified! Did you ever keep watch in December in the open air, till the more than midnight blast had pinched all your features into sharpness; till your feet were cold as a stone, and the very stars appeared as if frozen to the sky? If you have never borne these things, I have; but what are they compared with the trials that some people have to endure.

Who can tell the sufferings of thousands of poor people in winter, from the want of warm bed clothes! and who can describe the comfort that a pair or two of blankets communicate to a destitute family! How often have I seen the wretched children of a wretched habitation, huddling together on the floor, beneath a ragged great-coat, or flimsy petticoat, striving to derive that warmth from each other which their scanty covering failed to supply!

In many places, benevolent persons give or lend blankets to the poor, and thus confer a benefit, the value of which can hardly be told. May they be abundantly repaid by the grace of that Savior who said, when speaking of

kindness done to his disciples, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Think of these things now, for it will be no use to reflect on them in summer. Charity is never so cordial as when it feels the misery it relieves; while you feel the cold, then do something to protect others from the inclemency of the season. It is enough to be ill-fed, and ill-clothed, and to sit bending over a dying fire without a handful of fuel to revive it; but after that to pass the night without a blanket for a covering, must indeed be terrible.

See in the sharpest night the poor old man, over whose head threescore and ten winters have rolled, climbing with difficulty his narrow staircase, to creep beneath his thin ragged coverlet! See the aged widow, once lulled in the lap of luxury, but now girt around with trials, in fastings often, in cold, and almost nakedness, worn by poverty to the very bones, stretching her cramped limbs upon her bundle of straw! Fancy—but why fancy what you know to be true?—these poor, aged, miserable beings have to shiver through the live-long night, when a blanket would gird them round with comfort. I could weep at such miseries as these—miseries which so small an effort might relieve. The table-crumbs of the rich would make a banquet for the poor, and the spare remnants of their clothing would defend them from the cold.

Come, come, reader! you are not without some feeling of pity and affection for your fellow creatures. Be not satisfied in wishing them well; let something be done for their welfare.

If there be a heart within you, if you have a soul that ever offered up an expression of thanksgiving for the manifold mercies which your heavenly Father has bestowed upon you, then sympathize with the wretched, and relieve, according to your ability, the wants of the destitute. Let me beseech you to do something this very winter towards enabling some poor, aged, helpless, or friendless person, who is slenderly provided for, to purchase a blanket. You will not sleep the less comfortably, when you reflect that some shivering wretch has been, by your assistance, enabled to pass the wintry nights in comfort. It is not a great thing that is required; do what you can; but do something. Let me not plead in vain and shame beside me if I neglect myself the thing that I recommend to you to perform.

Did you ever lie snug and warm in bleak December, the bed-clothes drawn close round your neck, and your nightcap pulled over your ears, listening to the midnight blast, and exulting in the grateful glow of your delightful snugness? I know you have, and I trust, too, that the very reading of these remarks will affect your hearts, and dispose you to some "gentle deed of charity" towards those who are destitute of such an enjoyment.

Now, then, while the subject is before you, while you look round on your manifold comforts, while you feel the nipping and frosty air, resolve, aye, and act, in a way that will bless others, and give comfort to your own heart.

Youth and health may rejoice in frost and snow, and while the warm blood rushes through the exulting frame, we can smile at the wintry blast; but age, sickness and infirmity, can take no exercise sufficient to quicken the sluggish current of their veins. Wrap them round, then, with your charity; help them to obtain a pair of warm blankets, and the blessings of the widow and the fatherless, the aged and infirm, the destitute, and those ready to perish, shall rest upon you.

## A JUVENILE PHILOSOPHER.

Of perfect social freedom I never knew but one instance. Dr. H— of Boston, coming home to dine one day, found a very bright looking, handsome mulatto on the steps, apparently about seven or eight years old. As he opened the door, the boy glided in, as if it were his home. "What do you want?" said the doctor. The child looked up with a smiling confidence, and answered, "I am a little boy that run away from Providence; and I want some dinner; and I thought maybe you would give me some." His radiant face and childlike freedom operated like a charm.—He had a good dinner, and remained several days, becoming more and more the pet of the whole household. He said he had been cruelly treated by somebody in Providence, and had run away; but the people he described could not be found. The doctor thought it would not do to have him growing up in idleness, and he tried to find a place where he could run of errands, clean knives, &c., for his living. An hour after this was mentioned, the boy was missing. In a few weeks, they heard of him in an opposite part of the city, sitting on the door-step at dinner time. When the door opened, he said in a smiling voice, and said "I am a little boy that run away from Providence; and I want some dinner; and I thought maybe you would give me some." He was not mistaken this time either. The heart that trusted so completely, received a cordial welcome. After a time, it was again proposed to find some place at service; and straightway this human butterfly was off, no one knew whither.

For several months no more was heard of him. But one bright winter-day, his first benefactor found him seated on the steps of a house in Beacon street. "Why, Tom, where did you come from?" said I.

"I came from Philadelphia."

"How on earth did you get there?"

"I heard folks talk about New York, and I thought I should like to see it. So I went on board a steamboat; and when it put off, the captain asked me who I was; and I told him that I was a little boy that run away from Providence, and I wanted to go to New York, but I hadn't any money. 'You little rascal,' says he, 'I'll throw you overboard.' I don't believe you will, said I; and he didn't. I told him I was hungry and he gave me some thing to eat, and made up a nice little bed for me. When I got to New York, I went and sat down on a door-step; and when the gentleman came home to dinner, I went in, and told him that I was a little boy that run away from Providence, and I was hungry.—So they gave me something to eat, and made up a nice little bed for me, and let me stay there. But I wanted to see Philadelphia; so

I went into a steamboat; and when they asked me who I was, I told them that I was a little boy that run away from Providence.—They said I had no business there, but they gave me an orange. When I got to Philadelphia, I sat down on a door-step and when the gentleman came home to dinner, I told him I was a little boy that run away from Providence and I thought perhaps he would give me something to eat. So they gave me a good dinner, and made me up a nice little bed. Then I wanted to come back to Boston; and every body gave me something to eat and made me up a nice little bed. And I sat down on the door-step, and when the lady asked me what I wanted, I told her I was a little boy that run away from Providence, and I was hungry. So she gave me something to eat, and made me up a nice little bed; and I stay here and do some errands sometimes. Every body is very good to me, and I like every body.

He looked up with the most sunny gayety, and striking his hoop as he spoke, went down the street like an arrow. He disappeared soon after, probably in quest of new adventures. I have never heard of him since; and sometimes a painful fear passes through my mind that the kidnappers, prowling about our large towns, have carried him into slavery.

The story had a charm for me, for two reasons, I was delighted with the artless freedom of the winning wayward child; and still more did I rejoice in the perpetual kindness, which every where gave it such friendly greeting. Oh, if we would but dare to throw ourselves upon each other's hearts, how the image of heaven would be reflected all over the face of this earth, as the clear blue sky lies mirrored in the waters.—Mrs. Child.

A CHEAP BREAKFAST.—A son of Erin at Schenectady heard the breakfast bell ring on board a canal boat just starting out for Buffalo. The fragrance of the viands induced him to go on board.

"Sure, Captain, dear," said he, "an' what'll ye ax a poor man for travelling on yer elegant swan or a boat?"

"Only a cent and a half a mile and found," replied the captain.

"An' is it the vittles ye mean to find sure?"

"Yes. And if ye're going along, go down to breakfast."

Pat didn't want to be told a second time, but having descended into the cabin and made a hearty meal, he came on deck and requested that the boat might be stopped.

"What do you want to stop for?" inquired the captain.

"How far have we come, just," asked Pat.

"Only a little over a mile."

Pat thereupon handed the captain two cents, and coolly told him that he believed that he would not go any further with him, as Judy would want her breakfast, not knowing that he had breakfasted out!

The joke was so good that the captain took the cents, ordered the boat to stop, helped Pat ashore and told him that should he ever have occasion to travel that way again he should be most happy to carry him.

How eloquently forcible the great Channing thought and wrote. He was one of the first men of the age, and when he died one of the brightest lights that burned on earth was quenched. Listen to him a moment—

"No man, who seriously considers what human nature is, what it has made for, can think of setting up a claim to control a fellow. What! own a spiritual being, made to know and adore God, and who is to outlive the sun and stars! What chain to our lowest uses a being made for truth and virtue! Convert into a brute instrument that intelligent nature on which the idea of duty dawned, and which is a nobler idea of God than all outward creation! Should we not deem it a wrong which no punishment could expiate, were one of our children seized as property, and driven by the whip to toil—And shall God's child, dearer to him than an only son to a parent, be thus degraded! Every thing else may be owned in the universe, but a moral, rational being cannot be property. Suns and stars may be owned, but not the lowest spirit. Trade in anything but this. Lay not your hand upon God's rational offspring. The highest intelligences recognize their own rights in the humblest human being. By that priceless immortal spirit which dwells in him, by that likeness of God which he wears, tread him not in the dust, confound him not with the brute.—Boston Post.

"The mass of mankind have not been born with saddles on their backs, for a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God."—Jeffers on.

"The more honesty a man has, the less he affects the air of a Saint; the affectation of sanctity is a blotch on the face of piety."

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J. ELIZABETH HITCHCOCK has just received and has now for sale at her boarding house, Sarah Galbreath's, west end of High st.

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